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NARRATIVE REMARKS,

EXPOSITORY NOTES,

AND

HISTORICAL CRITICISMS,

ON THE

NEW ENGLAND

Historical and Genealogical Society,

AND INCIDENTALLY ON THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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" what dire necessities on every hand, our art, our strength, our fortitude require; of foes intestine what a numerous band, against this little throb of life conspire."

> ALBANY: MUNSELL, PRINTER. 1874.

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COMMENDATION.

To the Historical Societies throughout the United States in general, which at this time or may hereafter exist, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society in particular, this work is commended by the

WRITER.

(Samuel F. Drake)

"And lives there men who slight immortal fame?

Who then with incense shall adore our name?

But, mortals! know, 'tis still our greatest pride,

To blaze those virtues which the good would hide."

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1900.

PREFACE.

It is not expected that any notice will be vouchsafed to this work by the parties for whose edification it is intended. When a clan or party has committed a mean action, and have shown no disposition to make amends for it, that clan or party may decide that their best course is to wrap themselves up in their dignity, and by lofty airs assume that they maintain a character not accountable, and hence not accessible to those whom they have intentionally insulted.

"Like sophists why will you dispute
With wisdom so, you do confute
None but yourselves: for shame be mute."

"Charlatanism, or accident, may gain applause, genius may miss it. And who can be calm under slights and *insults* which he knows that he does not deserve."

"Thus hath the course of justice wheeled about,
And left thee but a very prey to time;
Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
To torture thee the more, being what thou art.



CRITICISMS.

CHAPTER I.

How a Leading Historical Society came to have such an awkward Name — How an attempt to take away the Title of the Society's Periodical was made and how the attempt failed — How much had been done by the Massachusetts Historical Society in a given period, and how little — How jealousy was fostered in it — How it proceeded to undermine another society.

"Their obstinacy's ne'er so stiff, As when 'tis in a wrong belief, And since our workings-out are crost, Throw up the cause before 'tis lost."

It is to be regretted that a leading Historical Society of the country is burdened with such an awkward name: and doubtless many of its later members have often inquired how it happened. One purpose of this paper is to give an explanation. The few original members of the Society found little time to look critically into matters necessarily entrusted to individuals of their number. An act of incorporation was very early agitated, the application for which to the General Court was committed to one person, who, being a

lawyer, was supposed to be qualified to perform the service. The whole number constituting the Society at its institution was five. Whether the member consulted with any of the other four is not known, but certainly he did not with the Corresponding Secretary, and there is reason to believe he consulted with no one else. However, an act was granted, dated March 18th, 1845; and, strange to say, but two of the original members are named in it: these where Charles Ewer and J. Wingate Thornton. There was indeed a third name in the instrument, and singularly enough, of a man who never attended a meeting of the Society before or after its institution—a very worthy gentleman who died in 1865, much regretted.

Why the name was put into the Act of Incorporation — New England Historic, Genealogical Society, instead of New England Historic-Genealogical Society, can only be accounted for in one way, and that the reader is left to infer. To use a comma in a compound word where a hyphen, and nothing else, is proper, is also left for the reader's inference. Thus much it was thought proper to state for the satisfaction of inquirers who desire, or may hereafter desire information as to how the Society got its awkward legal name.

¹ In the ensuing pages the name *Historical and Genealogical Society*, will be used: that being the name originally intended.

However, in accordance with this error in the act of incorporation, a seal was prepared. In this too, the comma was of course placed. Most people perhaps, did not notice the blunder, or error, at the time, or viewed it as a matter of little or no importance. The publisher of the Society's periodical never viewed it in any other light than a · blunder, and on all the covers of it, from volume five to ten inclusive, the name was printed with the hyphen in the compound word Historic-Genealogical. The seal, however, remained unchanged. It may not be amiss to mention here, that the preparation of the seal was undertaken by H. G. Somerby, who, with the aid of F. N. Mitchell, seal engraver, executed it. This seal has been in constant use as the *insigne* of the Society, and has appeared on every issue of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register from the publication of its first number in 1847, to its last in 1873. Why the January number in 1874, was sent out without it, is a question to which no satisfactory answer is likely to be given. The uniform appearance of the work for twenty-seven years had given it a place in the community of periodicals of infinite importance to the work, and not a little to that of the Society. It gave an assurance of permanency which few periodicals in the land have attained. The peculiar and distinctive style in which

the Register has so long appeared has become as much looked for by its friends as a Londoner formerly looked for the St. John's Gate of the Gentleman's Magazine. St. John's Gate has been discarded,

and where is the Gentleman's Magazine?

The manner of proceeding to bring about this, to all reflecting minds, objectionable change, will not now be remarked upon; suffice it to say, that as soon as the number for January 1874, was issued, which was the first notice to nearly all concerned, that any such change was contemplated, several of those gentlemen who had sustained the periodical at its outset and through its difficult stages of a struggle for existence, felt that the change was not only an injury to the work, but something more than that. Whereupon, at the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society, on February 3d, (1874), the following resolution was introduced:—

"Resolved, that the publishing committee of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, be requested to order that the Periodical of the Society be restored to its original stile, in respect to its cover, title-page," etc. This may not be the exact wording of the resolution, but it is its exact meaning. It was pointed, because the Society's seal had been discarded, and also a vital part of its name—New England. As there was no question as to the proprietorship of the Register, and as the board was prevented from passing the resolution by an

adjournment, the supporters of it called up the subject at a regular meeting of the Society, on the third of March. By an unanimous vote the Society referred the matter to the board of directors for final action. The board met March 13, and after listening to a long, tedious, wordy and irrelevant defence of the proceedings by which the New England Historical and Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal, had been changed to the Historical and Genealogical Register, the resolu-

tion was sustained by a decisive majority.1

To return to the name of the Society, which, at best is a cumbersome one, and was the occasion of considerable discussion by the founders of the institution. One member advocated Historical and Genealogical Society, and supposed that was to be the real name, until the act of incorporation appeared. One of the original members was of opinion that the name should be, simply "The Genealogical Society;" he being a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, suggested that there might be some feeling of jealousy among some of the members of that institution if Historical were used as proposed: but he was not at all strenuous, and did not press the objection. This was LEMUEL SHAT-TUCK, Esq. At the same time there was a full acquiescence in the statement that there was no

¹ See APPENDIX A.

really active historical society in the state. It was shown that it was some five years since that society had issued anything, and that its last volume might be comprehended in an ordinary pamphlet; that materials were both abundant and of great importance, which were being destroyed by fire and other means every day; that much of what was contained in the volumes published by that society was matter already in print and required no such reproduction on account of scarcity; especially as they were issued without any or but a very feeble editing: one gentleman instanced Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, which was divided into five parts and appeared in five different volumes of the collections, occupying in its issue a period of about six years!! A work altogether not equalling an amount of reading contained in one number of Mathew Carey's old American Museum.

To return once more to the name of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society: several discussions took place from time to time upon it. At one time there was a pretty general consent to substitute *The New England Archæological Society*, but it failed from a cold support. More recently, when a building was erected for the institution, a gentleman thought it a fitting time to propose a suitable name for it. He therefore addressed a note to the president, suggesting that it might

properly be called the Archæological Building OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALO-GICAL SOCIETY. But as the gentleman who made the recommendation was not able to accompany it with a donation, no notice was taken of the suggestion. Such a name for the edifice was thought to be singularly appropriate, as there was no building bearing the name in New England; that Boston, of all localities in this part of the United States, was the most suitable one for a building to be devoted to archæological collections and investigations; and this class of investigations was fully comprehended by the original founders of the Society; at least by all of those who had given thought to the subject.

Until the organization of the new Society the Massachusetts Historical Society was nearly inaccessible. It had a large amount of valuable materials, but no provision for their being consulted by the public, although chiefly donated to be useful as well as to be preserved. If the works were consulted it was at great disadvantage. The collection lay in a loft in Franklin street over an arch, and it may almost literally be said, buried under the dust of ages. The librarian, the Rev. Dr. Jenks, at the period in question, resided in Crescent place. He was kind and accommodating; but a matter of history under investigation must have been very pressing to require him to accompany an investi-

gator, perhaps a stranger, especially in bad weather, to the library, situated up two flights of narrow, steep, winding stair cases, for the doctor was seldom there except by special appointment. Such was the situation and condition of the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for about forty years! namely from 1793 to 1833; nor was it in much better condition for use till some time after the organization of the New England Historical

and Genealogical Society.

That members of that society should entertain jealousies against a new institution for occupying ground hitherto scarcely at all broken, was thought unworthy of any, except intellects of small cultivation, and of men who did not desire to see progress in any department of historical knowledge, unless it originated with themselves. However, an awakening was soon noticed in that hitherto sleepy association. New members were taken in, and from a long state of inaction, something like activity must be dated as having commenced "about this time." That such activity ever would have happened, but for the founding of a new society, is not asserted, but is left for the reader's decision. Whatever that decision may be, it was a satisfaction to many to notice animation in that direction, and if airs of superiority were assumed by some of its members, they had the same right to put them on, as other individuals have to put on unbecoming

garments in which to make themselves appear ridiculous.

Up to the time of this revival it was generally understood that the society was the party which sought for persons willing to become members : now it would seem, a rather different course began to prevail. The society was limited by its act of incorporation as to the number of members which should constitute it. That number was at first thirty. Soon after the organization of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, the old society petitioned the legislature to be allowed another thirty. There was probably no opposition from any quarter to the enlargement; nor is it likely there would have been had the concernasked the privilege of taking in ten times that number. It is said there has been still another inflation of members, making a total of one hundred; also that the question has been propounded as to the policy of throwing off the trammels altogether; seeing that a monopoly of historical pursuits is not likely to succeed; and hence the loss of leadership of Historical Societies not attainable.

CHAPTER II.

How an aristocratic show succeeds — Who are seduced thereby —
How the seduced are estimated — How the managers of the
Massachusetts Historical Society proceeded to break up the
New England Historical and Genealogical Society — How they
attempted to prevent its obtaining a Charter — How the Massachusetts Historical Society originated — How it came to be
limited as to its number of members — How a limitation became a trammel.

"There are some things I cannot bear, Some looks which rouse my angry hate, Some hearts whose love I would not share, Till earth and heaven were desolate."

It rather naturally happens that when any society is considered a secret one, makes an aristocratic display, and assumes airs which as naturally are offensive, that there are people who become ambitious to obtain memberships in such concerns. Hence a considerable number of young men who had been elected members of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, and put forward in its management, and who, but for such memberships would hardly have been heard of, were now ambitious to become members of the exclusive institution. In this way the new Society became a sort of probationary station, from which the ranks of the exclusive obtained some of their best (?) materials. This course of events would elicit no remarks; while a reflection cannot be kept out of sight, that when a member of the new Society, so far lost his self respect, as to ignore his paternity, he could not hope or expect to retain much respect from those to whom he owed his *elevation*. That there should be any such is rather a humiliating reflection, but it cannot in truth be denied. Their names are reserved, for future use if events require them.

That it was the hope of the managers of the old society to break up the new, was evident from the plan pursued in detaching its prominent members, whenever they could. Their enlargement as to numbers, noticed above, was evidently adopted for

the accomplishment of this object.

For a few persons who sought a membership in the old society there is this apology: that society had a large amount of unpublished materials highly important to those engaged on any branch of New England history. Hence to obtain the use of those materials a membership was thought to be indispensable. But the use of those materials could serve as an apology to but very few, and the majority of that few thought only of the position it would give them to be thought to belong to an aristocratic, and exclusive society. This commonsense statement will not be palatable, but it is nevertheless true.

A few individuals may have a right to form

themselves into a club, and to choose their associates; but when such club in effect denies the same right to others, they not only make themselves contemptible, but deserving of ridicule. This remark was suggested by an attempt of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the legislature of the state, to prevent the New England Historical and Genealogical Society from obtaining an act of incorporation. That such an attempt was actually made will cause just astonishment at this day; considering it took place in a republican government,

in the year 1845.

A petition to incorporate a society, under the name of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society had been presented to the House of Representatives. It was referred to a committee of which Mr. Charles Francis Adams was chairman. This committee refused an act of incorporation. other words an act of incorporation was denied, in the usual polite form—" The petitioners have leave to withdraw." Now the grounds of this refusal will not be forgotten; being in themselves too preposterous to admit of a shadow of apology. grounds of refusal were that such a society was not necessary; that there was one historical society in the commonwealth, and that that society was quite sufficient to take care of all matters of history through all past years and years to come!! These are not given as the precise words of the chairman;

but the language he did use imported nothing else; and hence could be construed into nothing else but a declaration of hostility. Now any disinterested gentleman in Mr. Chairman Adams's place could have had no objection to granting the petition; but Mr. Adams was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and although merely a nominal member, is supposed to have cared next to nothing about that institution, the natural and pretty conclusive inference is, that he was influenced by his nominal associates of the Massachusetts Historical Society to make the adverse report, as above stated. There was not probably, at the time of this application to the legislature, a tenth part of its members who had ever heard that there was such an institution in the state as a Historical Society; that consequently it could be of little or no utility; therefore an increase of useless institutions might well be dispensed with.

In whatever remarks may be made in this narrative no reflections are intended to be cast upon the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, or upon their immediate successors; for the writer remembers with pleasure many of them, who were among his best friends. He takes pleasure also to record, that, it was his happiness to know and enjoy the friendship of some of the original founders of that society, among whom were Alden Bradford, John Davis, Thaddeus Mason Harris,

John Prince of Salem, and Thomas Walcutt — all mentioned in the act of incorporation, dated Feb-

ruary 19th, 1794.

Respecting the institution of the Massachusetts Historical Society, it is pretty well known, especially to those interested in historical and antiquarian investigations, that, previous to the establishment of the Historical Society, but few persons could be found whose interest in them attracted much at-Indeed the number of such individuals. even in Boston, was very small. Of this fact, the writer had, in some respects, the best means of knowing. Hence, when the formation of a society was proposed by Jeremy Belknap, the question of its feasibility came up, and it was some time before it was acted upon affirmatively. At length a few kindred spirits met together from time to time in a lawyer's office or other place. In this manner informal meetings were at first held. These continued for about four years, before they collected vitality enough to move its members to propose the procurement of an act of incorporation.

It has been a question often asked how it happened that the Massachusetts Historical Society became limited as to the number of its members in its act of incorporation? and it remains yet unsatisfactorily answered. That a society, historical, or in any way kindred to it, should be limited as to those allowed to cooperate in it, excited questions

of this kind. Is it a secret society? Is it its object to grasp and get into its possession rare and valuable manuscripts, printed books, and so forth, and to keep them from inquirers? and in that way show an importance? This would be unworthy of men. Is knowledge collected by an association to be hidden, sealed up? If so, the smaller the number of individuals associated the more likely will be the chances to keep knowledge "under a bushel." It is one thing to provide for the safety of materials, and quite another and different matter for their keepers to exhibit an exterior of condescension to allow such materials to be used.

Respecting the enlargement of the list of members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a few observations may be appropriate: remarking, by the way, that it never having been the practice of the writer to question members of that society, about its management, though intimate with many of them; what he happens to know was communicated by various members of it, from time to time, as historical affairs happened to be discussed, and the revelations contained in their publications.

That a time would ever come when the trammels to limitation would be seriously objectionable, did not probably occur to any of the members of the first generation, or originators. Indeed no inconvenience appears to have been felt from those trammels until another Historical Society was organized. Up to this time, so far as the writer knows, there was no special pressure by outside parties for admission into the Massachusetts Historical Society, but soon after another society was formed, a different aspect became apparent; as will be noticed by

and by.

It would be curious to know what ideas the committee of the legislature had in limiting a society of this kind. Did the members of that committee imagine, as it seems the petitioners did, that no more than thirty men could ever be found in Massachusetts who would be capable of investigating its history? This it may be thought is hardly a supposable case, as it supposes men possessed of minds too narrow for the conduct of the ordinary affairs of daily life. Nevertheless it has been suggested that the originators of the society did not suppose they could find persons enough of their views to fill up the space left open, namely, for thirty, which was the original number. This solution is an inference drawn from conversations with the late venerable Dr. Harris, the writer's long and intimate friend. However this may have been, the example set by Dr. Belknap, and the effects of his excellent commemorative discourse on the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, had the effect to increase the number of inquirers respecting American History.

publication was nearly simultaneous with the second and third volumes of the History of New Hampshire, namely, 1792, not 1793, as stated in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. VII, 3d series, page 8. Those were written in New Hampshire, but the author had to go to Philadelphia to get his first volume printed, but the second and third were printed in Boston.

For the sake of brevity the Massachusetts Historical Society will be mentioned as the old society and the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, as the new society. Also for the same reason the New England Historical Society will be sometimes used instead of its incorporate name.

CHAPTER III.

How affairs stood in the Massachusetts Historical Society up to 1855—How a rebellion came near breaking out—How it was gotten over and how a new President was put in—How the old one felt about it—How a gentleman was treated who desired to introduce a friend—How the character of that friend was traduced—How members were made and how they were ruled—How at length an "Infidel" was to be elected—How he declined an election—How his letter of declination was received and what was done about it.

"Bred in courts betimes though all that law As yet hath taught him is to find a flaw."

"Yet he is as abject to those above him, as he is insolent to all below him."

A man had been at the head of the old society about five years when the New England Historical and Genealogical Society was founded. Though reticent, so far as known to the writer, on the subject of a new Historical Society, except perhaps among his immediate followers. With these his word was law. Hence, to obtain a membership in the old society the consent of its head, or president, must, first of all, be secured; no matter what the claims of an aspirant to such distinction might be. Thus matters stood (in the old society) up to 1855. For some time previous there had been considerable dissatisfaction among the progressive and younger members of that society, with the arbitrary pro-

ceedings of its president; well understanding that his judgment was governed by his prejudices. Thus it happened that some gentlemen were kept out of the society who had the best claims to consideration, while some others were admitted who had very little or none at all, because their genuflections were far superior to their self respect. This state of things having been endured for a considerable length of time, something like a rebellion was secretly fostered among the active members. It was finally decided that the only cure for the malady was the acquisition of a new president. But how it was to be brought about was rather a serious as well as a delicate question; for all concerned were well aware, that to broach the subject required no ordinary nerve, as it might uncork a vial of wrath of large dimensions, to exhibitions of which some of the members had doubtless been wit-However, suffice it here to say, that in some way the desired end was reached by some adroit management, probably on the part of a judicious committee; and thus a change was brought about, so far as is known to the writer, without any serious outbreak, and Mr. Robert C. Winthrop was put into the presidential chair of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

That the displaced gentleman was sadly aggrieved at the conduct of those over whom he had held a

sway little inferior to that of the Great Turk, there cannot be much doubt; for he seemed conscious of having been regarded by his society as the great fountain head of all matters pertaining to the history of New England. There was some reason for this, taking into consideration the rather low state of American historical literature at that period in Massachusetts, and it was in that period (1825), that appeared the first volume of his edition of Winthrop's Journal. That work, or rather his labors upon it, at once placed his name prominently before the antiquaries and historical students of New England. For an estimate of the manner in which the editor performed his labors on Winthrop's Journal, as an annotator, the reader is referred to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, volumes VII, and VIII, for October and January of those years. And here may be a suitable place to relate an anecdote or two illustrative of the character of the ex-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His supremacy over his immediate followers cannot be better illustrated, perhaps, than by the relation of the following circumstance. A gentleman who had been many years a member of the society desired the introduction of a friend. That friend was well known to nearly every member, as one who had paid much attention to American history, and had published some works in illustration of departments of it.

The gentleman who wished to propose his friend was informed by a party that "the society was full;" in other words, that there was no vacancy. Sometime having elapsed, the gentleman again made application, and received the same answer. "That," replied the gentleman, "shall be no longer an excuse," and he thereupon made a vacancy by resigning his own membership. These moves were entirely unknown to the friend he wished to introduce. The singularity of this affair is in the fact that vacancies had occurred from time to time, meanwhile, but the gentleman's application and nomination alluded to had been entirely disregarded, and the name of the party nominated stood conspicuous on the nomination list of the society for some seven years or more! It is said that a candidate cannot be elected if but one ballot is cast against him, and that the election of the proposed candidate was constantly kept from an election by one vote, and that vote was cast by the president. Now it was well known that the nominee, but for the opposition of one member, would at any time have been elected. At length, when some gentlemen, members of the society, had the courage to demand the reason of this opposition, they were told that the nominee was a free-thinker, a deist, or infidel, at the same time not pretending that he knew anything with regard to it of his own knowledge. Now this objection will seem the more extraordinary, as the objector was notorious for his profanity, though a deacon of a church, and though well acquainted with his presumed infidel, yet had never had an unpleasant passage with him. Hence it was glaringly evident that his opposition was under a false pretense; and that the real cause was in that the nominee had never debased himself by begging for a membership as one asking alms, and was not of the aristocracy!

This particular case is narrated to show how the Massachusetts Historical Society sometimes made members, and how those that were members were ruled. If any of them ever read these remarks, they need not feel flattered by the opinion held by the writer of their notions of self respect, independence or justice. In other words they well deserve the contempt that such obsequiousness al-

ways produces.

One other circumstance will be detailed before dismissing this part of the subject: premising that a very small number of individuals always managed the affairs of the society; that gentlemen are made members mainly for the sound of their names and the show they might make printed in the lists of members, but who would rarely attend a meeting. Such men as Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Charles Francis Adams, Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, and others of similar standing. Hence these gentlemen are not responsible to any con-

siderable extent, for the misdeeds of those whom they must nevertheless call associates. Sometimes the managers, to give their doings the appearance of impartiality, would place a name on a committee of some one of these gentlemen. It so happened that the name of Edward Everett in 1852, was placed on the committee whose duty it was to recommend gentlemen for election; and it so happened, perhaps for the first time, that he could take any part in the society's business; hence, perhaps unexpectedly, Mr. Everett appeared in the committee; of course all deference was paid him; and as he was no shirk of duties, he examined the list of persons proposed for membership. He at once noticed a name that had been passed over for several years. Whether he inquired the reason for the name being thus neglected, is not stated, but it is sufficient to state that the committee were unanimous that the nominee in question ought to be elected; but it was well known that unless the prejudice of the president could be overcome, the result would be as heretofore. He was accordingly informed of the unanimity of the committee in favor of the nominee. It was rather a bitter potion for the ruler, but the popularity of Mr. Everett so reduced the bitterness, that he agreed no longer to oppose the election of the candidate. From this point fair weather was looked for, and several of the friends of the neglected nominee were quite

jubilant; never imagining that a party thus honored could look upon the action thus initiated but in the most favorable light. But this was assuming that everybody looked upon the Massachusetts Historical Society, as a great source of honor. It so chanced that the gentleman did not view the honors thus dispensed of any great importance to him, or that they were intended to be showered down upon him at all. In this state of blissful ignorance, a somewhat recent member of the society let out the whole proceeding; all of which indirectly was communicated to the party so adroitly to be honored without his knowledge. On gaining this intelligence he at once wrote a letter to the recording secretary requesting his name to be stricken from their books. Its effect may be imagined. It was a sort of thunderbolt. No such thing had ever happened to the society before. There was a stay of proceeding until a decision could be arrived at as to what course might be pursued under such an anomalous state of things. During this suspense the recording secretary repaired to the author of the letter, and with great earnestness begged of him to withdraw it; urging many reasons to induce him to do so; but all to no effect. On reporting his doings to the society it threw them into a deep quandary. They could not well obliterate the record of what had been done, and now came the question — What was to

be done with the gentleman's letter? After considerable suspense and apparent doubt, the president ordered it to be recorded!

Where there is no provocation insults will always recoil upon the heads of their authors. Foiled in such attempts, backbiters and hinting slanderers are always ready to ply their vocations. These are excrescences which find their way into every society; hence the Massachusetts Historical Society, has its full share of them. Some of their names are on record.

A result like that just stated was not calculated to increase the *love* of the old society for the new, especially where a prominent member of the new society had declined to be a candidate for a membership in the old. It had the effect of a declaration from the new society, that there were some of its members who could not be bought at so cheap a rate; it showed also that the tactics employed by the old society, to detach the working members of the new, and thus break it up or so paralyze it that it night never be of any importance, could not succeed.

CHAPTER IV.

How the new President of the Massachusetts Historical Society behaved towards the new Society—How the new Society went to the General Court to change a word in its name, and how the old Society interfered—How it exhibited Jealousy and Malice—How an array of singular characters appeared before an imbecile Committee, and how the spokesman of the Massachusetts Historical Society talked supercilious nonsense—How the New England Historical and Genealogical Society neglected to demand its right subsequently.

"But man, regardless of to-morrow's ill, Nurtures the passion of the present hour; Indulges all the violence of WILL; Thoughtless of MERCY, till he needs her power."

It is not proposed to expose the secret manner of proceedings instituted by the managers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, but merely to expose in this chapter an open attempt made by its new president to injure the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. That a gentleman of Mr. Winthrop's standing should lend himself for such an object, to do the bidding of a clique of his society, is, to say the least, very extraordinary. In other words, that he could have been induced by any of the small minds behind the curtain, thus to expose himself to ridicule, was at the time rather hard to believe; as he must have known that the instigation was spite which he was pre-

sumed to be above; but it is known to the writer that Mr. Winthrop went to the recording secretary of the new society, and used such arguments as he had to induce him to cause the word *Historic* to be struck out of the name of the society! To those knowing this act of the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, it was not much of a surprise at the course he took in the time of the late Southern Rebellion: nor is the surmise altogether improbable that he diverted an important donation from the New England Historical and Genealogical Society at a later period.

The attempt to prevent the New England Historical and Genealogical Society from obtaining a charter has already been detailed. The new effort, implicating Mr. Winthrop, may be regarded as the last great open assault of the enemy. It may be compared to the battle of Bunker Hill. The enemy carried the works, but the victory was dearly purchased. This sanguinary conflict happened early in the year 1858; a brief account of

which it is now proposed to sketch.

As no attention was paid to Mr. Winthrop's modest request, above alluded to, the new society proceeded to carry out an important object of its formation: which was to make the name of the society harmonize with the title of its periodical publication, "The New England Historical and

Genealogical Register." Hence it was proposed so far to change the name of the society as to make it "the New England Historical and Genealogical Society," a change so slight that nobody could have supposed that anybody outside of the society would have bestowed the slightest attention upon the proposition; especially as it was nobody's business. But it was necessary to go to the General Court for its sanction, being already an incorporated society. The importance of the change was very material to the institution; for its periodical had done more than everything else to build it up, by fully making known the great importance of what was undertaken: it had become, in a sense, the society itself; and therefore admitted on all hands, that the name of the society and its periodical should correspond in the manner as above set forth. In fact the change was a real necessity. To effect this object a petition was handed in to the General Court early in 1858, without imagining there would be a shadow of opposition to its being granted from any quarter. Contrary to all reason and common sense this simple change in a name so excited the jealousy and malice of the managers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, that they determined to prevent the change asked for, if any kind of manœuvering could be brought to bear to prevent It was a matter of unequivocal envy on the part of a clique of the old society; although it may

have appeared to some, that this ground was taken to prevent the younger society from any participation in the collection of historical materials. But this, even in the abstract, would be viewed childish in the extreme, and to have originated in heads devoid of brains, other than those of animals where belligerency was superior to all other instincts.

However, to thwart the objects of the younger society, the members of the old not only got up a counter petition to the legislature, but a remonstrance also; and in a discreditable manner procured a string of names to it, and succeeded in getting a hearing before a committee. This remonstrance, replete with false statements, they shamelessly printed in their first book of "Pro-

ceedings."

A meeting for a hearing was appointed to be held on February 1st, 1858. The New England Historical and Genealogical Society was duly represented, and so far as could be judged the committee was disposed to report favorably. The remonstrants did not appear; consequently another hearing must be had. This non-appearance was evidently intended for the annoyance of the new society, and the committee showed their subserviency by allowing the matter to be put off without any reason. However that may have been, on the 9th of March, following, the enemy appeared in force. The petitioners were represented by the president, vice

president, and Dr. Cornell. Vice President Brinley made a fair statement respecting the importance of the change of name, showing that it was important to the society, and interfered with no one else. Dr. Cornell took the same ground. The president argued that the society had a right to a change of name, and that the committee had no right to refuse it; that gentlemen in any locality had a right to form a historical society and the legislature had no right to refuse them an act of incorporation.

To oppose the grant required, the enemy brought Emory Washburn as chief advocate, and old Josiah Quincy for—one hardly knows what—except to say something at which those who came with him might laugh. The principal of these were one W. Brigham and Chandler Robbins. They showed their appreciation of the old man's stale jokes by grins and shrugs as boys are wont to do at those of a clown in a circus. Washburn took up about an hour in a sort of laudation of the Massachusetts Historical Society, interspersed with here and there a supercilious compliment for the members of the new society.

That this committee had been tampered with by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is not asserted, but judging from appearances, the chairman of that committee hoped to be *elevated* to a membership by reporting adversely to the petitioners. At all events he did report adversely,

and whether rewarded in the manner mentioned

the writer never took pains to inquire.

It is sincerely to be regretted that the matter of change of name was allowed to stop here, as nothing but a little perseverance was wanting to have secured what was asked for. Why it was not immediately attended to was mainly owing to the many and heavy duties under which the president of the society labored, besides his preparations for an extended and indefinite sojourn in Europe. Meanwhile new officers had been placed at the head of the society, who suffered so much time to elapse that a renewal of the application to the legislature by those who had encountered so much disgraceful opposition was deferred. If any members of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society relaxed their endeavors in the hope of being favorably noticed by the other society, they were probably disappointed, and ought to have been.

CHAPTER V.

How the Spokesman of the Massachusetts Historical Society, inflated what that Society had done — How a juxtaposition of Facts look — How a swindle was passed over — How the advocate ignorantly or falsely confounded things — How advice was vouchsafed to the New Historical and Genealogical Society — How Signers to Remonstrances, &c. are obtained—How the Massachusetts Historical Society, came into possession of the Records of Connecticut — How it captured the Prince Library and how it lost it — How it attempted to keep a quantity of the Massachusetts archives accidentally left in its possession.

"How dare these worms, ordain'd the ground to crawl,
And on their bellies in the dust to sprawl,
Mount up, like men, erect on hinder feet,
And play the hypocrite to all they meet."

In this chapter it is proposed to review some of the statements contained in the "Memorial" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and printed in the book of their "Proceedings." In that memorial they begin by setting forth the great amount of historical matter their society had published:— "Scarce a year," they say, "had elapsed from the date of the institution of the society, before its first publications were issued: and then vaulting over nearly seventy years, add,—"it has now in press the thirty-fourth volume of a series of Historical Collections." It is well known, that during the lifetime of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, there was considerable activity, and nearly a volume a year was

issued, extending over about five years; namely from 1792 to 1798. Then succeeded years in which nothing was done; thirty-three volumes had been published in sixty-seven years! Now the matter in each of these volumes does not exceed that in a single number of an ordinary magazine! The writer of the "Memorial's" next leap is to Governor Bradford's history. For what credit the Massachusetts Historical Society deserves for its agency in producing that work the reader who would be correctly informed, must turn to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, volume IX, where, on pages 231, &c., he may learn that the party who appears the most conspicuous, deserves credit only as a second or third class agent. The Massachusetts Records printed and managed by a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, would have afforded Mr. Emory Washburn a splendid opportunity to lavish encomiums on the manager of that gigantic swindle for a brief notice of which the reader is referred to the Springfield Republican of the period, and to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, volume XII, pages 358-9.

Next, congratulations are put forth with much complacency, that the example of the Massachusetts Historical Society has been followed in several states. The American Antiquarian Society, is next noticed, which, by the way, it should be re-

marked, is now in a fair way to be absorbed by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Next fol-They give lows an intentional misrepresentation. the name of the society as the Historic-Genealogical Society. The falsity here is two fold, first, New England is excluded, and second, a hyphen instead of a comma is put between Historic and Genealogical. The writer of the remonstrance then very insultingly and as falsely remarks that the new society "has the best wishes of us all"!! The sinister act of substituting the hyphen for the comma in the name was to destroy the force of the word historical; thence basing the fallacious argument upon historic genealogical, that it had little or nothing to do with history, because the name meant only the historical part of genealogy. instead of using the name as it stands in the act of incorporation, with a comma between New England and Historic, the memorialists well knew that a comma in place of a hyphen in that word meant and, if it meant anything, and hence dishonestly substituted the hyphen; whereupon they make the fallacious and puerile argument that the new society considered history subordinate to genealogy! This deep logician does not inform his readers how much history there was before there was any genealogy.

The next paragraph in the remonstrance sets forth the extreme sufferings of the Massachusetts

Historical Society, because "the two societies have been frequently confounded with each other, contributions and communications" going to the wrong society. Now the writer hereof knows that mistakes of this kind were rare, and owing entirely to carelessness; he also knows that if either side suffered from this carelessness it was the New England Historical Society. Hence every business and concern in Boston, beginning with New England should not be allowed to use that name as it might interfere with the Massachusetts Historical Society. The next objection to the name of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, is in effect, that the people employed in the Boston post office did not know New England from Massachusetts. It took a long paragraph in the remonstrance to bring this charge, and to say what is said in two lines above. It is noticed only to show the puerility of the author or authors of that remonstrance.

The next matter deserving any notice is a piece of gratuitous advice, and is put in this mild form: "Perhaps we might be pardoned for suggesting, in behalf of our sister societies in the other New England states, as well as in our own behalf, that a title which should thus seem to imply an absorption of all the state historical societies of New England would hardly be for the advantage of any

of them:" and yet if any of the other Historical Societies in New England, are, or have been alarmed lest they should be swallowed up by the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, it has never come to the knowledge of the writer: but it will be shown in this narrative that the party making this weak accusation has done what it is able to do to swallow both the American Antiquarian Society, and the New England Historical and Genealogical Society.

In the next paragraph of five lines the reader is informed that the Historical Society "should hardly be pardoned if it were to intimate a willingness to part with its name"!! This is sheer namby pamby, and it is difficult to conceive that men

would allow their names to accompany it.

After the above brilliant conceit comes one "suggesting that the adoption of a different name might not be inconsistent with their interests or their honor"!! It is to be wondered why this author was not generous enough to propose a name for the new society while he was about it, and so generous with his advice. And here it is proposed to close the notice of the memorial, a work conceived in spite and arrogance and brought forth by folly. As to the signers of this remonstrance classically called a memorial, but few remarks will be made. They numbered forty-four; of which number it is probable not above four or five ever

read or heard it read. This opinion is expressed under the belief that not more than the latter number would have been mean enough to interfere in a matter in which they had no business or concern, had they taken a moment's time for reflection; for it is well known how signers to petitions are generally obtained: a few names are placed at the head of the paper, of two or three well known persons of distinction in a past age, but who may have lost every faculty but their prejudices. These are as blindly followed as the appendage of the quadruped follows its owner. A few malicious individuals set this machinery in motion under fallacious and false pretenses; such, beyond peradventure started the interference with that which was none of their business; prompted by jealousy and sustained by impudence.

It was intended that this exposition should have been made during the lifetime of all the forty-four, but various and continued labors delayed it from time to time, and until but about half the number are among the living; it is now published in part for their benefit, and to expose one of the most shameful attempts on the part of one society to annoy and ruin another, which has ever come within the knowledge of the writer. That the circumstances are truthfully stated, for confirmation the reader is referred to that mild and forbearing exposition made at the time by Mr. John Ward

Dean, and printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, volume XIII, 266, et seq.

Individuals are often avaricious. thought of it, as it is common to all mankind in a certain degree: but a great display of avarice is not quite so pardonable in a corporation, ostensibly established for the public good. It is not proposed to inquire how the Massachusetts Historical Society came into possession of certain muniments of another state, but certain it is it has in its possession records invaluable to Connecticut; records which no individual had any right to dispose of or appropriate; records without the use of which no true history of Connecticut can be written; these consist not of a few scattering papers, but the real records of the most important periods of its history, requiring some twenty heavy folios to contain them. If even a Connecticut gentleman desires to consult these records, it costs him from one to two months time before he can do so, when he desires to make even copies of a few pages! Now the question which will occur to every one is -Why is this so? Why does not Connecticut reclaim her records? The answers to these questions are very simple, and reflect discredit on both the possessors and the state of Connecticut: on the former for retaining what they have no moral and probably no legal right to; and on the latter for negligence to claim their property. Has the Massachusetts Historical Society, by conferring its empty memberships on a few influential individuals of Connecticut, stifled and "qualified" all claim of the state to its archives? Let the authorities of that state answer this inquiry as best suits them.

One other circumstance, similar in some degree to the above, is as follows: The Rev. Thomas Prince left by will his invaluable collection of printed books and manuscripts to the Old South Society in Boston, to be kept by them forever. This collection he called the New England Library. Now the conditions of this gift, were, in his own words: "That the same may be keptentire, I desire it may always be kept by itself, and that no person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom, but that any person, whom the pastor and deacons shall approve of, may have access there to and take copies therefrom." Now with this will on record, and accessible to everybody, the Massachusetts Historical Society was allowed to take and carry off this library! For some twenty years, more or less, the Old South Society were as still as Connecticut, and might have remained so to this day, had not the writer of this Narrative called public attention to the fact by an article in the most popular newspaper of Boston. A stir at once thereafter commenced, which in due time resulted in a return of the library (or what of it could be found) to the Old South Church. For the agency

the writer had in this restoration, if any thanks from the Old South Society were intended for him they fell short of their object. If they were withheld on the part of that society because their neglect of duty had been exposed, which doubtless caused some of them no little mortification, it is quite as satisfactory as any acknowledgment would have been. And as for approbation from

the other party, he got all he expected.

It is true that as the Prince library was situated, it being "in the steeple chamber" of the Old South Meeting-house,—it was very difficult of access; nor did its removal to the room of the Massachusetts Historical Society, much improve its location in that respect. But it is now more accessible than ever before; for, soon after it was taken from the Massachusetts Historical Society, it was, by a sort of common consent of all interested, deposited in the Boston Public Library; which institution has caused it to be put in good order and a good catalogue made of it. There it will be likely to remain, notwithstanding the will of the donor; for when the Old South has disappeared, which it is likely will soon happen, it will be impracticable to find the steeple chamber of that edifice, and hence the library cannot be returned to it.

The last exhibition of avarice in which the Massachusetts Historical Society has been engaged, was occasioned by its retention of a large quantity of the

papers belonging to the Commonwealth. These papers were, like those of Connecticut, quite voluminous. They were, carelessly or accidentally, left in the room of the society, by a secretary of the state, who, by virtue of his office, or some other virtue, took the papers from the State House to the library of the society, where he was engaged in preparing some work for publication. It is sufficient to note that he left them there, and in a short time after, died. The state had no competent muniment keeper. Years passed away. It became generally forgotten that such papers were in existence. A few gentlemen, however, did not lose sight of them, and often intimated to the society that they should be returned. The society, either because it had long possessed them, or from some other cause, laid claim to the papers: and but for the persistency of one gentleman, the state would probably have lost them. He brought the matter before the General Court, and after a long contest the society was compelled to return them, or some of them, to the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER VI.

How the failure of the Massachusetts Historical Society to break up the New England Historical Society came about, and how it attempted to grasp the Genealogical field — The displaced President turns Genealogist — How underhand manœuvres were practised to obtain Farmer's Interleaved Register — How the late supersided President of the Massachusetts Historical Society abandoned editing Hutchinson's History to secure the Genealogical field — How the world became indebted to James Savage for the New England Genealogical Dictionary.

"Some took me for a zealous man,
Because good preachers I did patronize,
And many thought me a precisian,
But God doth know I never was precise.
I seemed devout in Godly exercise,
And by religious show confirmed my might,
But who durst say I was an hypocrite."

Defeated in their attempts to drive a few historical students from the historic fields, or to prevent their pursuing their labors under equal advantages with themselves, the next step of the old society was an attempt to monopolize the field of Genealogy: their champion historian having recently turned genealogist. It came about in this wise: It was well known to a member of the new Society that Mr. John Farmer of Concord, New Hampshire, had interleaved a copy of his "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England," and had therein made valuable manuscript additions to his original work. This fact

being brought up at a meeting of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, action was at once taken to obtain the loan of that volume, with the privilege of copying his additions. This matter was put into the hands of the corresponding secretary of the Society, he being a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and an intimate of the late author of the work. The volume was known to be in the keeping of that society. corresponding secretary at once, January 8th, 1845, wrote to the president of that society, Mr. N. G. Upham of Concord, enclosing the request of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. A compliance with the request was granted without delay. The book was brought to Boston, by Mr. Upham himself and placed in the hands of the corresponding secretary, within a week from the time of the application.

On examination of Mr. Farmer's additions to his original work, those did not prove to be of very considerable importance; nevertheless it was concluded advisable to copy them, and accordingly another extensively interleaved volume of Mr. Farmer's original work was prepared to receive them. Thus much it was accounted necessary to say as introductory to the following sequel:—

The editor of Winthrop's Journal, not far from this time announced his intention to issue a new edition of Farmer's Register. That announcement was not made until some time subsequent to the possession of the interleaved copy by the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, as will be evident from what follows.

Owing to the fact that Mr. Farmer's work had in some measure disappointed the officers of the Society, in respect to the value of its additions, will account for the circumstance that no action was taken for printing it by the Society, consequently it laid in the Society's possession several months. In the meantime the idea probably got into Mr. James Savage's head that there was a good opportunity to deal a telling blow against the success of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, by taking to himself the whole genealogical field: and in order to do this he must first avail himself of the most recent labors of John Farmer. However this may have been, events of the period show pretty conclusively, that making a large display of genealogical knowledge was quite recent with him: for not long before he went to England, (which was in 1842), he told Dr. William Jenks (as the Doctor told the writer) that on his return from England he intended to devote the following five years in editing an edition of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

Thus while the officers of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society were in doubt

what to do with Farmer's work, an order came from Mr. Upham requesting that the volume be returned, as it was desired for use in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Accordingly the volume was delivered to the messenger who brought the order. Curiously enough, the volume, instead of going into the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society, went directly or indirectly into the hands of James Sa-

vage!

It has been regretted by some that the New England Historical and Genealogical Society did not publish Farmer's work as he left it. A proposition to that effect was discussed by the members, but it was considered that so much had come to light since Mr. Farmer ceased his labors, that it was not advisable: still, as events have since fallen out, it is regretted that it was not done; for then the genealogical public would have had Farmer's work as he left it; whereas, whatever value there was in his additions, that value is buried so deep that no man can find it: thus depriving the author of those honors so justly due to his memory.

When Mr. Savage learned that the New England Historical and Genealogical Society was in possession of Mr. Farmer's work, it would have been a manly act, or one of courtesy at least, for him to have conferred with some of the officers of that society respecting it. He did no such thing. There was no necessity for any underhand pro-

ceedings to get possession of Farmer's work. At all events the work was not kept from the rightful owners a day, and whatever-delay there may have been in reaching Mr. Savage it is of no importance to inquire: it only brought out in bold relief his antagonism to the New England Historical and Genealogical Society: a hostility for which all mankind in general and New England in particular are indebted for "THE NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGICAL DICTIONARY."

As already stated, Mr. Savage's labors on Winthrop's Journal had given his name considerable prominence. However much credit he deserved for that labor, he received a good deal more than he deserved; and whoever will take the pains to read the review of that work, before referred to, will find the merits of that labor impartially discussed; therefore it need not be further considered here. One point, however, will be noticed in this place: it is for the purpose to show how prejudice will warp some minds, and how such minds will cling to an assertion when once made, against the plainest demonstration of its falsity. Finding something he could not understand respecting certain land controversies in New Hampshire, Winthrop's editor at once assumed that there was a forgery somewhere; and as he could discover nothing among late transactions, he fastens upon an early deed of certain Indians to John Wheelwright. Now that a deed may have been forged is very possible; but that the one in question is a forgery has not been proved, nor any sufficient motive for such forgery given. Without duly considering this question, he assumed that he had discoverd an immense mare's nest, into which he vaulted, and in which he floundered to the end of his days.

A singularly appropriate and truthful epitaph was in circulation on Mr. Savage shortly after his decease. A copy was obtained by the writer of this Narrative. It is at present withheld from publication. Should another edition of this work be called for the epitaph may appear with it.

Permanence of institutions is a great consideration with their founders. There are but few living who know what it cost to establish the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. After it was well established, it was far from agreeable to those who had "borne the heat and burthen of the day," to witness anything like ignoring its originators; to observe new men step in, claiming to know more of its history, its objects, and so forth, than those who had laid the foundation of it. Great self importance on the part of such new comers, knowing nothing of the treatment of the Society by the Massachusetts Historical Society, seem ready with laudations of the latter; apparently eager to do all in their power to be made members of it.

These have small excuse for not being acquainted with the long and continued efforts of that society to prevent the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, from even an existence: and yet in their book of proceedings had the effrontery to say the New Society has its best wishes! That society may next claim, and with equal truth, as certain members of the British Parliament did respecting the growth and importance of the American Colonies — that it was by their protection and fostering care, kindness and liberality that they had become great and powerful: the answer of Col. Barré to which is too well known to require repetition, and will apply perfectly in this case. It is in spite of the intrigues and oppressions of that society that the New England Historical and Genealogical Society has become one of the foremost Historical Societies in the country.

APPENDIX.

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When that part of the manuscript was sent to the printer, it had been settled by the only proper authority, that the title of the Society's periodical should not be changed from what it had been up to 1874. In defiance of this order of the Society, another number of the work has been issued with the false title. It was an essential part of the title that it should contain a cut of the Seal of the Society, and as an important part of its name—NEW ENGLAND, AND ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL. These have been discarded. Now it is affirmed that this change would never have been thought of but from some sinister design of the transient editor — a man not a historical scholar, not a genealogist, and not possessing a single antiquarian trait. For whatever of these qualities the periodical exhibits since he has been the nominal editor is due mainly to others.

This nominal editor made a long and incoherent defense of his action before the executive board of the Society, but when the vote was taken there was a majority of eight to four against the change. He claimed to have a majority of a publishing committee in favor of the change. Suffice to say that that publishing committee have not a shadow of authority in the matter. That committee was constituted solely to shield the editor regarding matter offered for insertion in the work, and to pass upon the merits or precedence of articles. Most of the members of this committee are new men, and have unwittingly been

committed to the change, not imagining probably that there was a large cat in that meal. And in the same sinister proceeding among the patrons of the periodical he has got some of them to say they approve of the change! Now the writer hereof has happened to meet with several of those patrons who have been thus entrapped. Not one has yet been met with, who, after being particularly informed as to the premises, but what is opposed to it, and has expressed surprise that it was ever even proposed. The immense pains this editor has taken to forestall the opinions of the patrons of the periodical, by obtruding letters upon them, couched in such terms, that if answered at all, could be construed into an approval of his act, is not to go unexposed.

Finally, the writer requests it to be distinctly understood, that he makes this exposition solely in what he concieves to be the vital interest of the Society, and that he had no further interest in it or its periodical, than every member of the Society ought to have; that if he feels more keenly an aggression upon them than younger members, sensible members will not fail to appreciate the impulse which dictated this Narrative.



















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